

easy. Our Nation is militarily, politically, economically, and emotionally exhausted by wars, and now we have been forced to embark on yet another.

Americans are justifiably repulsed by and fixated on the more immediate chaos of televised beheadings. A more abstract future threat of a nuclear Iran is beyond the horizon of most Americans, and the ayatollahs are counting on that. It is one of the many ways that the conflicts in Iraq and Syria are connected to our Iranian dilemma.

Coping with all of that at once is what leadership is all about. Four American Presidents, including our current President, have declared that a nuclear-weapons-capable Iran is unacceptable. I will repeat that: Four American Presidents, including this current President, have declared that a nuclear-weapons-capable Iran is unacceptable.

To give meaning to that repeated commitment and to do whatever is necessary to prevent Iran from getting that dangerous capability is the most urgent matter facing the United States and international security. A robust uranium-enrichment industry in Iran means a capability to produce nuclear weapons within an unacceptably brief amount of time.

The consequences of a nuclear-weapons-capable Iran are not tolerable, not acceptable, and must motivate the most powerful and effective efforts possible to prevent it from happening. That is our challenge. That is the role of the Senate. So we must insist on playing a significant role in the examination of whatever is being done and whatever might be put before us so we can examine it carefully and not repeat the mistakes of the past as we have with the North Koreans.

With that, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. UDALL of New Mexico). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, on Tuesday evening Senator INHOFE and I announced that we had reached an agreement with the chairman and the ranking member of the House Armed Services Committee on a new national defense authorization bill for fiscal year 2015. The text of the bill and report were published on the Web site of the House Rules Committee that evening, and on Wednesday morning we put out a press release detailing the provisions of the bill.

The bill passed the House earlier this afternoon by a vote of 300 to 119, and we expect to take it up in the Senate next week.

Our bill includes hundreds of important provisions to authorize the activi-

ties of the Department of Defense and provide for the well-being of our men in uniform and their families. The bill will enable the military services to continue paying special pays and bonuses which are needed for recruitment and retention of key personnel. It provides continued impact aid to support military families and local school districts. It strengthens survivor benefits for disabled children of servicemembers. It includes provisions addressing the employment of military spouses, job placement for veterans, and military child custody disputes. It addresses military hazing, military suicides, post-traumatic stress disorder, and mental health problems in the military. And it includes 20 provisions to continue to build on the progress we are starting to make in addressing the scourge of sexual assault in the military.

The bill provides continued funding and authorities for ongoing operations in Afghanistan and for our forces conducting operations against the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, so-called ISIS. As requested by the administration, it authorizes the Department of Defense to train and equip vetted members of the moderate Syrian opposition and to train and equip national and local forces who are actively fighting ISIS in Iraq. It establishes a counterterrorism partnership fund to provide the administration new flexibility in addressing emerging terrorist threats around the world.

In addition, the bill extends the Afghanistan Special Immigrant Visa Program, providing for 4,000 new visas, and addresses a legal glitch that precluded members of the ruling parties in Kurdistan from receiving visas under the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Our bill takes steps to respond to Russian aggression in Ukraine by authorizing \$1 billion for a European re-assurance initiative to enhance the U.S. military presence in Europe and build partner capacity to respond to security threats of which no less than \$75 million would be committed for activities and assistance to support Ukraine, by requiring a review of the U.S. and NATO force posture, readiness, and contingency plans in Europe, and by expressing support for both lethal and nonlethal military assistance to Ukraine.

The bill adds hundreds of millions of dollars in funding to improve the readiness of our Armed Forces across all branches—Active, Guard, and Reserve—to help blunt some of the negative effects of sequestration. It includes provisions addressing the threat of cyber warfare, providing woman-owned small businesses the same sole-source contracting authority that is already available to other categories of small businesses, expanding the No Contracting With the Enemy Act to all government agencies, and requiring governmentwide reform of information technology acquisition. And although we were unable to bring the Senate-re-

ported bill—a bill that was reported by our committee—to the floor for amendment, we established an informal clearing process, pursuant to which we were able to clear 44 Senate amendments—roughly an equal number on each side of the aisle—and to include them in our new bill.

When the bill comes to the floor, I will have a lot more to say about some of the more difficult issues in the bill, such as provisions addressing military compensation reform, Army force structure, and Guantanamo detainees, as well as the so-called lands package that we included in our bill based on a bipartisan, bicameral request of the committees of jurisdiction.

I hope our colleagues will take the opportunity to review our bill. It is obviously a long bill. There are going to be enough days, we believe, to review the bill so our colleagues can have a fair opportunity to see what is in our bill. We are proud of the bill. We think it is a good bill. It would be the 42nd or 43rd straight year we will have passed a military authorization bill, a Defense authorization bill, if we are able to pass the bill next week.

I hope our colleagues will take the opportunity over the next few days to review the bill and hopefully give it the kind of broad support it deserves and that it received today in the House of Representatives.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to a period of morning business and Senators be allowed to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DEATH IN CUSTODY REPORTING ACT

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I have long worked to pass legislation to bring additional transparency and accountability to the government. I do so again today by calling on all Senators to support the Death in Custody Reporting Act, a bill that has moved multiple times through the Senate Judiciary Committee and should pass the Senate without further delay.

This is about an open and fair government. The Death in Custody Reporting Act requires that local and Federal law enforcement officials report deaths that occur while people are held in their custody, including those that occur during arrest. Nothing more. Just yesterday the Wall Street Journal reported that hundreds of police-related deaths are unaccounted for in Federal statistics. I ask that the article, "Hundreds of Police Killings Are

Uncounted in Federal Stats,” be made part of the RECORD. The details of the article are unacceptable. The Justice Department should have an opportunity to analyze the data and see what we can learn from it. And the American people deserve the same.

This important opportunity for needed transparency comes at a time when many Americans are losing faith in our justice system. We are having an important conversation about the loss of human life in communities across the country. Here we have an opportunity to instill some measure of accountability, and hopefully begin to restore some measure of trust in these communities.

This legislation, sponsored by Congressman BOBBY SCOTT, overwhelmingly passed the House last year in a bipartisan vote. We reported the bill out of the Senate Judiciary Committee in a similarly strong bipartisan vote, with Ranking Member GRASSLEY speaking in strong support of the legislation. Currently, every single Senate Democrat is in support of its passage, but a handful of Senate Republicans are not yet convinced. It is my hope that they soon reconsider, and we can send this legislation to the President for signature without delay. The American people would expect as much.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Dec. 3, 2014]

HUNDREDS OF POLICE KILLINGS ARE
UNCOUNTED IN FEDERAL STATS

FBI DATA DIFFERS FROM LOCAL COUNTS ON
JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDES

(By Rob Barry and Coulter Jones)

WASHINGTON—When 24-year-old Albert Jermaine Payton wielded a knife in front of the police in this city’s southeast corner, officers opened fire and killed him.

Yet according to national statistics intended to track police killings, Mr. Payton’s death in August 2012 never happened. It is one of hundreds of homicides by law-enforcement agencies between 2007 and 2012 that aren’t included in records kept by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

A Wall Street Journal analysis of the latest data from 105 of the country’s largest police agencies found more than 550 police killings during those years were missing from the national tally or, in a few dozen cases, not attributed to the agency involved. The result: It is nearly impossible to determine how many people are killed by the police each year.

Public demands for transparency on such killings have increased since the August shooting death of 18-year-old Michael Brown by police in Ferguson, Mo. The Ferguson Police Department has reported to the FBI one justifiable homicide by police between 1976 and 2012.

Law-enforcement experts long have lamented the lack of information about killings by police. “When cops are killed, there is a very careful account and there’s a national database,” said Jeffrey Fagan, a law professor at Columbia University. “Why not the other side of the ledger?”

Police can use data about killings to improve tactics, particularly when dealing with people who are mentally ill, said Paco Balderrama, a spokesman for the Oklahoma City Police Department. “It’s great to recog-

nize that, because 30 years ago we used to not do that. We used to just show up and handle the situation.”

Three sources of information about deaths caused by police—the FBI numbers, figures from the Centers for Disease Control and data at the Bureau of Justice Statistics—differ from one another widely in any given year or state, according to a 2012 report by David Klinger, a criminologist with the University of Missouri-St. Louis and a onetime police officer.

To analyze the accuracy of the FBI data, the Journal requested internal records on killings by officers from the nation’s 110 largest police departments. One-hundred-five of them provided figures.

Those internal figures show at least 1,800 police killings in those 105 departments between 2007 and 2012, about 45% more than the FBI’s tally for justifiable homicides in those departments’ jurisdictions, which was 1,242, according to the Journal’s analysis. Nearly all police killings are deemed by the departments or other authorities to be justifiable.

The full national scope of the under-reporting can’t be quantified. In the period analyzed by the Journal, 753 police entities reported about 2,400 killings by police. The large majority of the nation’s roughly 18,000 law-enforcement agencies didn’t report any. “Does the FBI know every agency in the U.S. that could report but has chosen not to? The answer is no,” said Alexia Cooper, a statistician with the Bureau of Justice Statistics who studies the FBI’s data. “What we know is that some places have chosen not to report these, for whatever reason.”

FBI spokesman Stephen G. Fischer said the agency uses “established statistical methodologies and norms” when reviewing data submitted by agencies. FBI staffers check the information, then ask agencies “to correct or verify questionable data,” he said.

The reports to the FBI are part of its uniform crime reporting program. Local law-enforcement agencies aren’t required to participate. Some localities turn over crime statistics, but not detailed records describing each homicide, which is the only way particular kinds of killings, including those by police, are tracked by the FBI. The records, which are supposed to document every homicide, are sent from local police agencies to state reporting bodies, which forward the data to the FBI.

The Journal’s analysis identified several holes in the FBI data.

Justifiable police homicides from 35 of the 105 large agencies contacted by the Journal didn’t appear in the FBI records at all. Some agencies said they didn’t view justifiable homicides by law-enforcement officers as events that should be reported. The Fairfax County Police Department in Virginia, for example, said it didn’t consider such cases to be an “actual offense,” and thus doesn’t report them to the FBI.

For 28 of the remaining 70 agencies, the FBI was missing records of police killings in at least one year. Two departments said their officers didn’t kill anyone during the period analyzed by the Journal.

About a dozen agencies said their police-homicides tallies didn’t match the FBI’s because of a quirk in the reporting requirements: Incidents are supposed to be reported by the jurisdiction where the event occurred, even if the officer involved was from elsewhere. For example, the California Highway Patrol said there were 16 instances in which one of its officers killed someone in a city or other local jurisdiction responsible for reporting the death to the FBI. In some instances reviewed by the Journal, an agency believed its officers’ justifiable homicides had been reported by other departments, but they hadn’t.

Also missing from the FBI data are killings involving federal officers.

Police in Washington, D.C., didn’t report to the FBI details about any homicides for an entire decade beginning with 1998—the year the Washington Post found the city had one of the highest rates of officer-involved killings in the country. In 2011, the agency reported five killings by police. In 2012, the year Mr. Payton was killed, there are again no records on homicides from the agency.

D.C. Metropolitan Police Chief Cathy Lanier said she doesn’t know why the agency stopped reporting the numbers in 1998. “I wasn’t the chief and had no role in decision making” back then, said Ms. Lanier, who was a captain at the time. When she took over in 2007, she said, reporting the statistics “was a nightmare and a very tedious process.”

Ms. Lanier said her agency resumed its reports in 2009. In 2012, the agency turned over the detailed homicide records, she said, but the data had an error in it and was rejected by the FBI. She referred questions about why the department stopped reporting homicides in 1998 to former Chief Charles H. Ramsey, now head of the Philadelphia Police Department. Mr. Ramsey declined to comment.

In recent years, police departments have tried to rely more on statistics to develop better tactics. “You want to get the data right,” said Mike McCabe, the undersheriff of the Oakland County Sheriff’s Office in Michigan. It is “really important in terms of how you deploy your resources.”

A total of 100 agencies provided the Journal with numbers of people killed by police each year from 2007 through 2012; five more provided statistics for some years. Several, including the police departments in New York City, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Austin, Texas, post detailed use-of-force reports online.

Five of the 110 agencies the Journal contacted, including the Michigan State Police, didn’t provide internal figures. A spokeswoman for the Michigan State Police said the agency had records of police shootings, but “not in tally form.”

Big increases in the numbers of officer-involved killings can be a red flag about problems inside a police department, said Mike White, a criminologist at Arizona State University. “Sometimes that can be tied to poor leadership and problems with accountability,” he said.

The FBI has almost no records of police shootings from departments in three of the most populous states in the country—Florida, New York and Illinois.

In Florida, available reports from the Florida Department of Law Enforcement don’t conform to FBI requirements and haven’t been included in the national tally since 1996. A spokeswoman for the state agency said in an email that Florida was “unable” to meet the FBI’s reporting requirements because its tracking software was outdated.

New York revamped its reporting system in 2002 and 2006, but isn’t able to track information about justifiable police homicides, said a spokeswoman for the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services. She said the agency was “looking to modify our technology so we can reflect these numbers.”

In 1987, a commission created by then-Governor Mario Cuomo to investigate abuse of force by police found that New York’s reports to the FBI were “inadequate and incomplete,” and urged reforms to “hold government accountable for the use of force.” The spokeswoman for the state criminal-justice agency said it isn’t clear what the agency did in response back then.

Illinois only began reporting crime statistics to the FBI in 2010 and hasn’t phased in

the detailed homicide reports. "We cannot begin adding additional pieces because we are newcomers to the federal program," said Tern Hickman, director of the Illinois State Police's crime-reporting program. Two agencies in Illinois deliver data to the FBI: Chicago and Rockford.

In Washington, D.C., councilman Tommy Wells held two hearings this fall on police oversight. He said he was surprised that the department hadn't reported details of police killings to the FBI. "That should not be a challenge," he said.

More than two years after the knife-throwing Mr. Payton was shot and killed by D.C. police, his mother, who witnessed the killing, said she is still looking for answers. Helena Payton, 59, said her son had many interactions with local police because of what she said was his mental illness. "All the cops in the Seventh District knew him, just about," she said.

The officers who arrived that Friday afternoon in August, in response to a call from Mr. Payton's girlfriend, had never dealt with her son, she said. According to Ms. Payton, her son walked outside holding a small utility knife. As he approached the officers, they fired dozens of bullets at him, she said. He died soon after.

The U.S. attorney's office is reviewing the incident, as is customary in all police shootings in Washington. A spokesman for the office declined to comment on the status of the case. The Washington police department, citing the continuing investigation, declined to provide the officers' names, a narrative of what happened, or basic information usually included in the reports to the FBI, such as the number of officers involved in the shooting.

The officers involved are back on duty, according to D.C. authorities, but the case isn't closed.

FOIA IMPROVEMENT ACT

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the Freedom of Information Act is one of our Nation's most important laws. James Madison said the people "must arm themselves with the power knowledge gives." For nearly 50 years, FOIA has given Americans a way to access government information ensuring their right to know what their government doing. The FOIA Improvement Act advances this fundamental democratic principle. It is why I urge all Senators to support the FOIA Improvement Act of 2014, without delay.

This legislation builds on what the President laid out in his historic Executive order in 2009 by requiring Federal agencies to adopt a "Presumption of Openness" when considering the release of government information under FOIA. Prioritizing the people's interest in what their government is doing, our bill will reduce the overuse of exemptions to withhold information where there is no foreseeable harm. It will make information available for public inspection and frequently requested documents available online. It will provide the Office of Government Information Services, OGIS, with additional independence and authority to carry out its work. I believe this legislation reaffirms the fundamental premise of FOIA, that government information belongs to all Americans.

Supporting these commonsense reforms will help open the government to

the 300 million Americans it serves. The bill is supported by more than 70 public interest groups that advocate for government transparency. The Sunshine in Government Initiative, said the Leahy-Cornyn bill "strengthens government transparency by limiting the ability of agencies to hide decades old documents from the public." At the Judiciary Committee's business meeting to consider this legislation, which was reported to the full Senate with unanimous support, Ranking Member GRASSLEY said the FOIA Improvement Act "opens wide the curtains and provides more sunlight on the Federal government." Senator CORNYN, my partner for many years on government transparency, noted our bipartisan efforts "to open up the government and make it more consumer and customer friendly." I thank both Senators for their work on this legislation.

We often talk about the need for government transparency, and many also note how rare it is that Democrats and Republicans can come together on any legislation. We have accomplished both with the FOIA Improvement Act. It was drafted in a bipartisan fashion after a long and thoughtful process of consultation. This week, we can pass this bill in the Senate and send it over to the House, where I am confident that it will pass, and send it to the President to sign before the end of the year. There is no reason to delay this legislation, which has broad support from a range of stakeholders, costs very little to implement and will improve access to government for all Americans. I urge the Senate to pass the FOIA Improvement Act now, without delay.

TRIBUTES TO JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, Scripture tells us that to those whom much is given, much is required. My friend, Senator JAY ROCKEFELLER, can rest well knowing that he has passed that biblical test.

JOHN DAVISON ROCKEFELLER, IV, is the eldest son of the eldest son of the founder of Standard Oil—America's first billionaire. Senator ROCKEFELLER grew up amid wealth in Manhattan and Westchester County, NY. He prepped at Exeter and graduated from Harvard. He was destined for a life of comfort and privilege far removed from the struggle of the poor. But this man, this ROCKEFELLER, consciously chose a different path in life. And he has spent 50 years—two-thirds of his life—working to try to make life better for people who too often have precious little.

He has been a Member of this Senate for 30 years. You can see his legacy throughout West Virginia and across America. You can see it in children who have better schools, miners who have safer working conditions and seniors who have retired with greater dignity. You can see his legacy in the 8

million American children who receive health care through CHIP, the Children's Health Insurance Program, which JAY ROCKEFELLER authored.

You can see his formidable legacy in the additional millions of Americans who—because of the Affordable Care Act—now have reliable health insurance, many of them for the first time in their lives. No one—no one—in this Senate has worked longer than he for affordable health care for all Americans.

Unlike some Senators, JAY ROCKEFELLER did not grow up dreaming of being a Senator. As a young man at Harvard, he had planned a career in diplomacy, focusing on Asia. He even took time off from college to live for a while in Japan. But something momentous happened when he graduated from college in 1961. America had just elected a hopeful, young President who made Americans believe, as Senator ROCKEFELLER would later say, "that America could achieve anything."

Senator ROCKEFELLER called his father and his Uncle Nelson, then the Governor of New York, to let them know he had switched from Rockefeller Republican to Kennedy Democrat. The family took the news surprisingly well.

Soon after, Senator ROCKEFELLER was asked by Robert Kennedy to help establish the Peace Corps; he worked for 2 years as a chief assistant to Sergeant Shriver, the first Peace Corps director.

In 1964 a friend told him that he did not need to travel halfway around the world to help people in need. There were people here in America, in his friend's home State of West Virginia, living on the outskirts of hope. So JAY ROCKEFELLER asked Bobby Kennedy to send him to West Virginia as a volunteer for VISTA, the precursor to Americorps.

He planned to spend a year in West Virginia. He has never left.

At age 27, in the tiny Appalachian coal-mining town of Emmons, WV—population 346—JAY ROCKEFELLER discovered his defining purpose. He saw that people working together and a caring government could transform lives and communities for the better.

In 1966, he was elected to West Virginia's House of Delegates.

In 1968 he was running for West Virginia secretary of state when his last great hero, Bobby Kennedy, was murdered. His Uncle Nelson, Governor of New York, offered repeatedly to appoint his nephew to fill out Senator Kennedy's term in the U.S. Senate—but JAY ROCKEFELLER refused. He told his uncle that if he were going to serve in this Senate, he wanted to earn his seat.

He won that race for secretary of state and went on to serve two terms as West Virginia's Governor.

In 30 years in the U.S. Senate, Senator ROCKEFELLER has been a passionate advocate for his State, for America's children, for seniors, coal